SOME NEW BOOKS.

Are the United States Destined to Economic Supremacy?

It is a singularly thoughtful and suggestive book that Mr. Brooks Adams, the author of "The Law of Civilization and Decay," has given us in a volume entitled *America's Economic Supremacy* (Macmillans). The purpose of the six essays here collected is to investigate the significance of the economic phenomena which have forced themselves upon attention during the last few years. Of these phenomena, the most important are the failure of Great Britain to maintain her financial and industrial preponderance relatively to her competitors, and the evidence that the seat of wealth and power is migrating westward, and may even now have entered America. How long it will abide there must depend upon the operation of forces as yet hardly brought into action, chief among which doubtless is the industrial development of Eastern Asia. It is not the author's purpose to enter upon a discussion of the changes which must be wrought in American social and political institutions before the United States can successfully assume the responsibilities and cope with the dangers incident to such an unquestioned supremacy as that which England has enjoyed during almost a century. So far as this topic is concerned, he confines himself to the observation that, if the responsibilities incident to economic supremacy are destined to be ours, regrets and opposition will alike prove unavailing. Should the United States be fated to discharge the functions which have been fulfilled by the dominant nations of the past, the corresponding administrative machinery will be in due time evolved, as well as the men fitted to put that machinery in action. We shall exemplify the value of this work by dwelling at some length upon the fifth essay, which points out the decay of England and the consequent probability that she is ceasing to play the part of the world's financial balance-wheel.

I.

In the essay named Mr. Adams begins by reminding us that human society is a living organism, possessed of a circulation, a heart and divers members. The heart lies at the seat of the international exchanges, the circulation flows through the arteries of trade, and the members usually show more or less vitality in proportion to their direct relations with the heart. As this organism contracts or expands, the position of its heart shifts to correspond with its varying bulk. This shifting of the geographical position of the heart is, perhaps, the most serious catastrophe with which mankind has to cope, for the moving of the economic capital of the world from any given abiding place indicates that the equilibrium of human society has been disturbed, and that the entire relations of the race must be readjusted before a new equipoise can be attained." Most of the worst convulsions of history have occurred during the intervals of readjustment, when the seat of empire, having abandoned one abode, has not yet fixed upon another. "The last of these spasms began in 1793, and ended with Waterloo; then came a calm, and, from 1815 onward, for about two generations, London assumed daily more and more undisputedly the functions of the economic capital, and Great Britain became, more and more admittedly, the seat of empire. This period of preponderance lasted until 1893, since when an impression has gained ground that England is relatively losing vitality, that the focus of energy and wealth is shifting, and that, therefore, a period of instability is impending."

Is this impression well founded? Is it true that Great Britain is now showing symptoms of decay? That is the great overshadowing question which Mr. Adams undertakes to answer. To that end he shows that, although down to the crash of 1890, when the Barings fell, Great Britain appeared to perform with ease her accustomed office as the balance-wheel of the world, signs were not wanting that a change had previously set in. Nearly a generation ago, and about the moment when Germany began to rise in economic importance after the overthrow of France, men began to notice that the English were losing their initiative. For more than two decades, indeed, contractors have complained that English firms were dilatory, and that Englishmen would seldom leave their dinners or their sport for business. Even the casual German and American tourist has remarked the slackness of London tradesmen and the amount of time given by them to amusements. Shops open late and close early in the British metropolis; nothing is done on Saturday, and on Monday labor is apt to be demoralized. Such observations, however, were not taken very seriously, and Mr. Adams refers to them because they are now noteworthy in the light of recent experience.

The first real shock to public confidence came with the failure of British agriculture and with the long series of consequences which followed therefrom. Here we are reminded that, after the war of 1870, Germany demonetized silver, and a contraction of the currency ensued which depressed prices universally, but especially those of agricultural products. On account of an inferior railway system which has never been modernized, of an expensive tenure of land and an intellectual inelasticity in respect to habits, English farmers proved unable to cope with this situation, estates went out of cultivation, and the United Kingdom became dependent for its chief supplies of food on foreign countries. Had this been all, the result might not have been serious; for, had the decline in agriculture been compensated by an advance in industry, the loss in one direction might have been balanced by gain in another. Such was not the case. At the very moment when agriculture collapsed, the productive energy of the English people showed symptoms of decay. The ratio of exports to the individual has never since stood so high as it did in the early seventies, while, on the other hand, the tendency toward increasing extravagance has been marked. The average consumption of beer to the individual, for instance, grows at the rate of 1 per cent. per year. The British as a nation are wasteful and profuse. Americans on their part are not frugal, yet the returns of the savings banks of the United Kingdom in 1898 showed that the savings of England, Scotland and Ireland only exceeded those of the single State of New York by about $67,000,000, while the totals represented an average accumulation of $136 per head for Americans, as against $23.60 per head for British subjects.

The effect of this lavish outlay for indulgences has been to cause the value of English imports to gain on the value of exports, until the annual adverse balance approximates to $800,000,000. To meet this enormous deficit a liquidation of foreign investments has apparently been long in progress. Mr. Adams believes that few unprejudiced observers will dispute that much of the financial stringency which prostrated Argentina, Australia and the United States between 1890 and 1897 originated in the withdrawal of English capital, a withdrawal which, so far as the United States are concerned, has not been checked, but promises to continue until the fund formerly invested by England in this country is exhausted.

Passing to the matter of transportation our author notes that the British railways stand substantially where they did twenty years ago, while the advances in America have been bewildering. Nevertheless, the Englishman still looks upon American competition in the iron and steel trade as an accident, still regards his railways as the best, and, generally, is satisfied with the place he holds. He fails to perceive that beyond the boundaries of Great Britain the methods of organization and administration have altered throughout the world, while with him they tend to fixity.

II.

After setting forth the grounds for thinking that England's military reverses bear witness to the prevalence of intellectual torpor, Mr. Adams proceeds to argue that the finance to which the campaign has given rise is even more ominous. At the outset of the war the Chancellor of the Exchequer assured the Commons that no cash and $50,000,000 in credit would suffice for the transportation of 70,000 soldiers to Cape Town and for the subsequent march of this force through a hostile country to Pretoria. Mr. Balfour afterward defended this policy by saying that he knew Parliament well enough to understand that, if the truth had been told, the representatives of the people would have preferred to keep the peace. As the *London Economist* at the time observed: "If there is any meaning in Mr. Balfour's words, it is that the Government was misleading the House and the country, as it was misleading the Transvaal." The financiering of the Boer war was based primarily upon a theory which subsequent events have exploded. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had assumed that, the United Kingdom being the chief creditor nation of the world, the Government of that nation had only to call upon its debtors, through its agent, the Bank of England, to have its coffers filled to overflowing with gold. His error lay in the fact that such conditions had vanished almost as completely as had the supremacy of British textiles and steel. For nearly twenty years Great Britain has been liquidating her loans, until little now remains which can be turned into cash. Since the failure of agriculture in 1879 and the consequent steady strain on the United Kingdom to pay its bills for food, it has grown each year more difficult to maintain satisfactory gold balances at London. The tendency is always toward the exhaustion of the Bank reserve, and this exhaustion, creating a pressure throughout society, has generated the craving for gold which probably lay at the basis of the onslaught on the Boers.

These inferences are not accepted by Mr. Giffen, the well-known British statistician, who has even published a long pamphlet to demonstrate that an apparently overwhelming deficit is the surest sign of rising opulence. Certain stubborn facts, however, remain to be explained away. It is clear that the Bank of England's reserve is maintained with difficulty, especially toward the New Year, and it is also clear that, instead of bullion flowing naturally toward Lombard Street, as it should to a creditor during periods of settlement, bullion tends to flow away. Last year the season of strain came early and stayed late. In the first week of October, 1899, the efflux from the Bank reached £1,899,778, and the reserve sank to £20,651,000. That is to say, when the invasion of Natal began, the Bank could spare no cash and the Government had collected no hoard to fall back on. Therefore, in order not to precipitate a panic, all possible economies had to be practised, and all payments had to be carried over Christmas. Mr. Adams suggests that to this cause should be attributed the prolonged delay in shipping troops, which, if the Boers had been energetic and cohesive, might have endangered the Cape Colony.

Notwithstanding all palliatives, the inevitable crisis came. In December, 1899, Buller's repulse on the Tugela started an incipient panic, and Lombard Street, as had been for some time its wont, turned toward New York for funds. In 1890, when the Barings failed, Lombard Street had drawn on Wall Street without stint, and had relieved her necessities. Last December the same measure was tried again. All the securities which England could gather were cast upon the market, but, though prices broke, gold remained below the exporting point, and recourse had to be made to loans. The correspondent of the *London Economist* thus explained the situation: "When confronted with a serious crisis in November, 1890, London turned in its embarrassment to its largest solvent debtor. American exports of merchandise had exceeded imports by only $61,000,000 in the four years preceding the Baring crash, against which was a foreign purchase of American securities and credits of perhaps $1,000,000,000 in the previous decade. Acting as a private creditor would, London in the years following 1890 demanded settlement of America. The capital which New York had borrowed from Europe had been invested chiefly in the West, and in order to settle with Europe it was necessary for the Eastern States to recall their advances from the Western. The latter found it impossible to pay promptly, and trouble followed. Nine years later London is again embarrassed. Now the difficulty follows an excess of American exports in the four years preceding of $1,500,000,000. Moreover, in the same period Europe has sold back to New York a sum of American securities about equal to the amount it purchased in the decade prior to November, 1890." The *Economist* went on to say that London was bare of American securities, and that whereas, "in 1891 the Bank of England could draw gold from New York," in forced settlement, now it is borrowing both American capital and American gold.

III.

Mr. Adams does not pretend to say precisely what happened in London after the British defeat at Colenso, because official evidence is lacking. He recalls, however, the common report, which is to the following effect: "A run on the bank was threatened, and application, directly or indirectly, was made without success on all sides for assistance, even to Russia. Then came an effort to contract loans. Now in England loans are usually negotiated by bill-brokers, who are allowed credit at the bank in proportion to their standing. To the extent of this credit the bill-brokers can accommodate their customers, but, if the credit is withdrawn, they are nearly helpless. When, after Colenso, the bank reserve fell to about £17,300,000, the bank directors are said to have been frightened, and, besides restricting their own advances as much as possible, are reported to have notified the bill-brokers that their credits would be closed. After consideration, the heads of these firms are believed to have replied that, if so, they could no longer discount for their customers, and thus all provincial England would be paralyzed. The moment had come for determining where the world's financial centre lay. Recoiling from such an extremity, the directors once more turned to foreigners, saying in substance to the bankers of Berlin and New York: 'You cannot afford to let us suspend, therefore you must carry us over the New Year.'"

Assuming this report to be well founded, Mr. Adams's comment is that the British broke down even more signally in their finance than in their campaign. In judging, however, that organized capital would not permit a collapse of credit, they were right. London had to be sustained; but it was found on trial that the United States were the only country strong enough to bear the load, and New York the only city where gold could be obtained. Accordingly, though the rates of exchange indicated a loss on the transaction, specie enough was shipped to carry the Bank of England over the 1st of January, while all settlements were postponed for sixty days. The same borrowing, although probably on a larger scale, was repeated in May and June, and the second war loan had to be negotiated mainly in the United States in order to draw gold to London. These facts suggest to Mr. Adams a comparison between the financial position of Great Britain in 1900 and that of France in 1871.

On the one hand, in 1871 we see France emerging from perhaps the costliest European war of the century. She had been invaded, devastated, dismembered. A domestic insurrection had been suppressed amidst oceans of blood, and Paris had been for months the theatre of violence and pillage. Yet such was the financial solidity of France that she easily raised a war indemnity of $1,000,000,000, besides all the other vast sums needed to discharge her debts, out of the savings of her peasants. On the other hand, in the summer of 1900 we see Great Britain bringing to an end a petty war in a distant land against a pitiful adversary. To pay for this war, two small loans have been negotiated, which together have hardly exceeded $200,000,000, a sum which should be insignificant not only for the greatest financial power of the world, but for any considerable nation. Yet to pay these loans in cash without a convulsion proved beyond the ability of the United Kingdom, and she had to seek aid abroad. Although the market had been sedulously prepared by the Bank of England, and every indulgence had been given to the subscribers, the first loan of $150,000,000 turned out indigestible, and forced down the price of consols 10 per cent. In July, 1899, the new 2¾ per cents. sold at 107½; in July, 1900, at 97¾. More money could not be obtained upon the same terms, for the reason that in England the mass of the people have little laid by; they squander their incomes as they go. In France and the United States, on the contrary, men accumulate.

Mr. Adams submits that, if the facts here reviewed by him have been stated without undue distortion, only one inference can be drawn therefrom. "If it be true that a relative relaxation of vigor can be traced in Great Britain, alike in private and public affairs; if a comparative subsidence of energy can be noted in the workshop and the counting house, in the universities and Parliament; if it be established that, after fifteen years of labor, the army remains what it has proved itself this year; if the British attack of 1900 is to the British attack of 1850 as Buller's assault on Spion Kop is to Wellington's advance at Waterloo; if it be admitted that the Salisbury administration, though discredited at home and abroad and smirched with sinister scandals, retains office because the nation lacks vitality to replace it—the symptoms admit of but one explanation. Nature seldom retraces her steps; Great Britain must already lie in the wake of the social cyclone," which marks the transfer of the world's economic centre from one place to another.

Nor does Mr. Adams find it wonderful that England should show signs of age, for the march of civilization is constant, and the seat of empire has seldom tarried in one city more than a century before indications of displacement have appeared. "Just three generations ago England conquered her supremacy at Trafalgar, and since then, she has passed through the final stages of development. By 1840 the last remnants of her old, free, agricultural population were passing away, a population which has usually furnished the fountain of vitality to every rising race; for a hundred years emigration has drained her of her most active blood, which has gone never to return; hence her efforts in the future can hardly be expected to equal those in the past, and society must be prepared to face the loosening of the bond which, from beyond the limit of living memory, has been the containing power of the world."

Our author's conclusion is that the centre of the economic system of civilization is no longer stationary but in motion, and that, until it once more comes to rest, tranquillity cannot return. "All signs now point to the approaching supremacy of the United States. But supremacy has always entailed its sacrifices as well as its triumphs, and fortune has seldom smiled on those who, besides being energetic and industrious, have not been armed, organized and bold."

Prehistoric Greece.

It can scarcely be said that the history of Greece needs to be rewritten so far as the period is concerned which may be strictly called historical, that is to say, the period beginning with the events of which Thucydides was an eyewitness. On the antecedent ages, however, fresh light is continually poured, not only by the rigorous application of historical criticism, but, as regards the earliest times, by archæology. What we do need is to see presented the conclusions arrived at by historical criticism and archæology, so far as these are definite and generally accepted. For a sober and successful attempt to supply this want we are indebted to *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*, by J. B. BURY, Regius Professor of Greek in Trinity College, Dublin (Macmillans). Of the 900 pages which this volume contains rather more than a third are devoted to a record of what is known, or reasonably may be conjectured, concerning the inhabitants of the country which, in historical times, was called Hellas, during the long period beginning far back in the third millennium before Christ, and ending with the capture of Sestos by the Athenians (479 B. C.), at which point Herodotus brings his history to a close. It is this part of the volume to which we shall confine ourselves, as being that which deals with verified facts, or with opinions supported by a good deal of evidence, which are still unfamiliar to many educated persons.

I.

When those Aryans who ultimately called themselves Hellenes, but whom the Italians were to designate as Greeks, came down from the northern part of the Illyrian peninsula to the coast of the Ægean, they found a material civilization more advanced than their own, and it has so happened that, thanks to the archæologists, we know more of this pre-Aryan civilization than we know of the Aryan conquerors themselves before they came under its influence. What, then, can be said of the early Ægean civilization which dates back to the third millennium B. C.? We observe, in the first place, that, before the invader of Aryan speech entered in and took possession, Greece, like the Italian and Iberian peninsulas, was occupied by a white folk not speaking an Aryan tongue. This race was spread not only over continental Greece but also over the islands of the Ægean and along the coast of Asia Minor. Its representatives gave to many hill or rock the name which was to abide with it forever. Corinth and Tiryns, Parnassus and Olympus, Arne and Larisa are names which the Greeks received from the peoples whom they dispossessed. This Ægean race, as our author, like others, would call it for want of a common name, had developed before the coming of the Greeks a civilization of which we have come to know only in very recent days. This civilization went hand in hand with an active trade which, in the third millennium, spread its influence far beyond the borders of the Ægean, as far at least as the Danube and the Nile, and received in return gifts from all quarters of the world. From the South came ivory, and from the East copper, while silver and tin came from the Far West, and amber from the regions of the North. The Ægean peoples evidently plied a busy trade by sea, and their maritime intercourse with the African continent can be traced back to even earlier times, since at the very beginning of Egyptian history we find in Egypt obsidian which can have come only from the Ægean isles. The most notable remains of this Ægean civilization of the third millennium B. C. have been found at Troy, in the little island of Amorgos and in the great island of Crete.

IV.

At the time when the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty were reigning in Egypt (2778-2565 B. C.) Crete was a land of flourishing communities, and was about to become, if it had not already become, a considerable sea power. It was already fulfilling, more completely than it was to fulfil in future ages, the rôle which geography seems to have imposed on it, that of forming a link between Eastern Europe and the African continent. The intercourse of Crete with Libya was more than a mere interchange of wares or the goings and comings of merchants. There is reason to think that men from Crete made settlements on the African coast and that men from Libya took up their abode in the Ægean islands. The Libyans and Cretans may have been bound together by a remote brotherhood of race whereof neither could be conscious; at all events, wherever the Libyans settled they were soon amalgamated and became one race with the native Cretans.

There seems, however, to have been also an inflow of settlers from the North as well as from the South. The Phrygians, a race of Aryan speech, which had planted itself in the southeastern corner of Europe, along with their brethren, the Thracians, were already passing across the Hellespont into the northwestern corner of Asia. Some of them seem to have ventured still further south. They ventured to Crete; it is possible that they ventured to continental Greece and, perhaps, to Africa. In Crete they left memorials of their settlement by such local names as Ida and Pergamon; but they, too, like the Libyans, seem to have amalgamated with the natives. Thus, by the beginning of the second millennium B. C., Crete, was already an island of mixed population. Phrygian and Libyan elements were blended with the original Cretan stock; only in the eastern corner was there no mixture and the pure-blooded natives of this region were distinguished in later times as the true Cretans.

Prof. Bury points out that the Cretans hold a distinct place in the history of civilization for the reason that they invented the first method of writing that was ever practised in Europe. It appears, indeed, that two modes of writing were used in the island during the third millennium. One of these was a system of picture writing, in which every word was represented by a hieroglyph; this system seems to have been used by the original inhabitants. The other also came into use throughout the island, and it was not entirely of native origin. It consisted of linear signs, whereof each probably denoted a syllable; and, although some of these signs may have been indigenous, the system was certainly improved and supplemented by symbols borrowed from Libya and Egypt. The influence of Egypt made itself felt in the ceremonies of religion as well as in the art of writing; and a table of drink-offerings which was discovered in the Dyctæan cave, afterward associated with Zeus, a table copied from similar Egyptian tables and inscribed with Cretan writing, is a striking proof at once of the intercourse of Crete with Egypt, and of the use of writing within the borders of Europe in the third millennium B. C.

In the same period, at the other extremity of the Ægean, near the southern shore of the Hellespont, a great city flourished on the hill of Troy. It was not the first city that had been reared on that illustrious hill, which rises to the height of about one hundred and sixty feet, not far from the banks of the Scamander. The earliest settlement, fortified by a rude wall of unwrought stone, can still be traced, and some of its primitive earthware and stone implements have been found. An axe-head of white nephrite seems to show that, even in the remote days before the third millennium B. C., there was a stream of traffic, however slow and interrupted, between China and the Mediterranean; for this white jade has been found only in China. On the ruins of this primeval city arose a great fortress girt with a wall of sun-baked brick and built on strong stone foundations.

There were three gates, and the angles of the walls were protected by towers. The inhabitants of this city lived in the stone and copper age; bronze was still a rarity. Their pottery was chiefly hand-made. The art of the goldsmith, on the other hand, had advanced far, if a treasure of golden ornaments really belongs to this settlement, as seems to be the case from the place of its discovery, and if it was native work. The most important point to be noted is the outline of the palace in this ancient city. Here, almost at the outset of Ægean civilization, we find the general plan of the main part of the house to be exactly the same as that which is described perhaps fifteen hundred years later in the poems of Homer. From an outer gate you pass through a courtyard, in which an altar stood, into a square, preliminary chamber, from which you enter the great hall, in the centre of which was the hearth. Prof. Bury, for his part, deems it possible that the people of the still older city, and extremely probable that the people of this great city, were Phrygians who had crossed over from Europe. He does not attempt to compute, however, how long this second and large city flourished; the absence of bronze implements renders it improbable that it endured much if any later than the beginning of the second millennium. An enemy's hand destroyed it by fire; its fall may supply an explanation of the early Phrygian settlements in Crete; the men who lost their homes in the Trojan land may have gone over the sea seeking new abodes.

V.

So much for what we know of the earlier Ægean civilization, which belonged to the third millennium B. C. We pass to the later phase of the same civilization, which belongs to the second millennium. Between the first and second phases there was a considerable stretch of time. During this interval dynasties rose and fell in the land of the Nile, no fewer than three cities were reared and perished on the ruins of the great brick city of Tyre; tin came in large abundance from the far-off West, and the folks of the Ægean Islands were able to give up the old tools of stone as bronze became plentiful and cheap; potters grew more skilful in mixing their clay, in using their wheel, in decorating their wares; and, at the end of six or seven hundred years, we find an advanced civilization in possession of the Ægean. The shiftings and changes which may have taken place during that intervening period, invasions or displacements in the centres of power and trade, are quite withdrawn from our vision; but about the middle of the second millennium B. C. we find this improved civilization in full bloom on the eastern side of the Peloponnesus. Its records are, first, the monuments of stone which have remained for more than three thousand years above the face of the earth, or have been brought to light by the spade; and secondly, the objects of daily use and luxury which were placed in the houses of the dead, and have been unearthed chiefly in our days by the curiosity of Europeans seeking the origins of their own civilization. Nowhere have more abundant and significant records been found than in the plain of southern Argos, at Mycenæ, which keeps guard in the mountains at the northern end of the plain, and at Tiryns, its lowlier fellow. In the second millennium B. C. the richest and strongest city on the coasts of the Ægean seems to have been Mycenæ; the memory of its wealth survives in the epithet "golden" which distinguishes it in the Homeric poems. For want of an exact term, the whole civilization to which Mycenæ's greatness belongs has been called Mycenæan.

Tiryns was the older of the two fortresses, and had played its part in the earlier epoch before the Ægean peoples had yet emerged from the stone age. It stands on a long, low rock, about a mile and a half from the sea, and the land around it was once a morass. From north to south the hill rises in height, and was shaped by man's hand into three platforms, of which the most southerly and highest was occupied by the palace of the king. The whole acropolis was strongly walled around by a structure of massive stones laid in regular layers, but rudely dressed, the crevices being filled with a mortar of clay. This fashion of building has been called cyclopean, from the legend that masons, called Cyclopes, were invited from Lycia to build the walls of Tiryns. One curious feature in the castle of Tiryns sets it apart from all the other ancient fortresses of Greece. On the south side the wall deepens for the purpose of containing stone chambers, the doors of which open out upon covered galleries, also built inside the wall and furnished with windows looking outward.

The ruins on the hill of Tiryns enable us to trace the plan of the palace of its kings. A chief principle in the construction of the palaces of this age seems to have been the separation of the dwelling house of the women from that of the men, a principle which continued to prevail in Greek domestic architecture in historical times. A striking characteristic of Tiryns is that, while the halls of the king and the halls of the queen are built side by side in the centre of the palace, there is no direct communication between them, and they have different approaches. The halls of king and queen alike are built on the same general plan as is the palace in the old brick city on the hill of Troy and as are the palaces which are described in the Homeric poems. An altar stood in the men's courtyard, which was enclosed by pillared porticos; the portico which faced the gate was the vestibule of the house. Double-leafed doors opened from the vestibule into a preliminary hall, from which one passed through a curtained doorway over a great stone threshold into the men's hall. In the midst of this was the round hearth, the centre of the house; the hearth was encircled by four wooden pillars which supported the flat roof, or rather a small second roof raised above the main roof for the purpose of letting out the smoke of the fire.

The stronghold of Mycenæ, about twelve miles inland, at the northeastern end of the Argive plain, was built on a hill which rises to 900 feet above the sea level in a mountain glen. The shape of the citadel is a triangle and the greater part of the wall is built in the same "cyclopean" style as is the wall of Tiryns, but of smaller stones. Another fashion of architecture, however, also occurs, and points to a later date than that of Tiryns. The gates and some of the towers are built of even layers of stones carefully hewn into rectangular shape. No storerooms or galleries like those of Tiryns have been found at Mycenæ, but, on the northeast side, a vaulted stone passage in the wall led by a downward subterranean path to the foot of the hill, where a cistern was supplied from a perennial spring outside the walls. Thus the garrison was furnished with water in case of a siege. Mycenæ had two gates. The chief was on the west, ensconced in a corner of the wall. The lintel of the doorway is formed by one huge, square block of stone, and the weight of the wall resting on it is lightened by the device of leaving a triangular space. This space is filled by a triangular block which bears a sculptured stone relief representing two lionesses standing opposite each other on either side of a pillar on whose pedestal their forepaws rest. They are, as it were, watchers who guard the castle, and from them the gate is known as the Lion Gate. The palace of Mycenæ crowned the highest part of the hill, and its plan, though it cannot be traced so clearly, was, in general conception and in many details, like that of the palace of Tiryns. The hearth, of which part remains, was ornamented by spiral and triangular patterns in red, blue and white. The floors of the covered rooms were made of fine cement, and in the open courts the cement was hardened by small pebbles. Sometimes the floors were brightened with colored patterns. It was customary to embellish the walls by inlet sculptured friezes, and by paintings. A brilliant alabaster frieze inset with cyanus, or blue-glass paste, decorated the vestibule of the hall at Tiryns and the men's halls in both palaces were adorned with mural pictures.

Next to their castle and palace, the burying places of the kings of Mycenæ are their most striking memorials. The men with whom we are now dealing bestowed their dead in tombs; there is no trace of the practice of burning corpses. At one time the lords of the citadel and their families were buried on the castle hill. Close to the western wall, south of the Lion Gate, the royal burial circle has been discovered, within which six tombs, cut vertically into the rock, had remained untouched by the hand of man since the last corpses were placed in them. Weapons were buried with the men, some of whose faces were covered with gold masks. The heads of the women were decked with gold diadems; rich ornaments and things of household use were placed beside them. There was a stele, or sepulchral stone, over each tomb, and some of these slabs were sculptured. A day came, however, when this simple kind of grave was no longer grand enough for the rich princes of Mycenæ, and they sought more imposing resting places; or else, as some believe, they were overthrown by lords of another race, who brought with them a new fashion of sepulchre. Nine sepulchral domes, hewn in the opposite hillside, have been found not far from the acropolis. The largest of them is generally known as the "Treasury of Atreus," a name which arose from a false idea as to its purpose. These tombs, the counterparts of which are found in other places in Greece, consist of three parts, the passage of approach, the portal and the dome. A stone causeway leads up to the portal, which admits into a round, vaulted chamber, built into the hollowed slope of a hill; in some tombs there is also a square side chamber. The portal of the Treasury of Atreus had a striking façade, being clad with slabs of colored marble, and framed by dark gray alabaster pillars, with zigzag and spiral patterns and carved capitals. The two massive lintel stones were relieved by the same device which was adopted in the architecture of the Lion Gate and the triangle was filled by red porphyry. The vaulted room of beehive shape is formed by rings of well-joined and well-chiselled stones, which grow narrower as they rise, and a roof stone. The walls were adorned with bronze rosettes, arranged in one pattern or another.

A door similar to that of the portal and framed with pillars admits to the side chamber, which is hewn into the rock; its walls were decorated with sculptured alabaster plates. The doorway of one sepulchre, popularly known as the Tomb of Clytemnestra, was framed by two alabaster columns fluted like the columns of a Doric temple. We should here mention that, besides the stately burying places of the kings, the humbler tombs of the people have been discovered in the burying grounds attached to the villages which were grouped below the citadel of Mycenæ. Some of the things found in these sepulchres indicate that most of them are of later date than the royal tombs of the citadel, and contemporary with the vaulted tombs hewn in the opposite hillside. Treasures would perhaps have been found in some of these great vaulted tombs if they had not been rifled by plunderers in subsequent ages. As a matter of fact, however, the works of the potter and the implements of war and peace fashioned by the bronzesmith are of more value for studying the Ægean civilization of the second millennium B. C. than are the golden ornaments found in the royal tombs of the citadel. Things of daily use moreover, have been found in the lowlier tombs, intended for occupants of a humbler social grade. From the implements which the people used and from the representations which artists wrought can be obtained a rough picture of their dress, armor and ornaments and an idea of the stage of achievement reached by them in art.

VI.

The Ægean civilization of the second millennium B. C. belonged to the age of bronze and copper. Even in its later period iron was still so rare and costly that it was used only for ornaments, rings, for instance, and, possibly, for money. In the earlier part of the second millennium the Stone Age had not been quite forgotten; obsidian was still employed for the heads of arrows. In general, however, bronze was used in Greece for all implements throughout this millennium. The arms with which the men of Mycenæ attacked their foes were sword, spear and bow. Their defensive armor consisted of huge helmets, made probably of leather, and shields of ox-hide reaching from the neck almost to the feet, and so clumsy that it must have been the chief part of a military education to learn to manage them. The princes went forth to war in two-horsed war chariots, which consisted of a board to stand on and a breastwork of wicker. The fragment of a silver vessel found in one of the rock tombs of Mycenæ exhibits a scene of battle in front of the walls of a mounted city, from the battlements of which women watching the fight are waving their hands. The men wore long hair, not, however, flowing freely, but tied, or plaited in tresses. In the earlier part of the second millennium they let the beard grow, both on lip and chin; but the fashion changed, and in the later period, as may be seen in their pictures, they shaved the upper lip, and razors have been found in the tombs. The masculine garments were simple, to wit, a loin-apron and a cloak fastened by a clasp-pin; in later times a close-fitting tunic. High-born dames wore tight bodices and wide gown-skirts. Frontlets, or bands around the brow, were a feature of their attire, and they wore their hair high-coiled in rings, letting the ends fall behind. The ornaments which have been found in the royal tombs show that the Queens of Mycenæ appeared in glittering gold array.

The Mycenæan pottery receives careful attention at our author's hands because it affords a clue for fixing the earlier and later epochs of the civilization which produced it. The painted vessels of the second millennium fall into two general classes, unglazed and glazed. The unglazed, ornamented chiefly with lines and spirals, were older, and when the glazed style attained perfection, went almost entirely out of use. In the varnished jars the development of the handicraft from the cruder work of the earlier potters can be traced through the best period into an age of decadence when the Mycenæan ware comes into competition with other and newer fabrics. The color of the Mycenæan vessels in the best age is warm, varying from yellow to dark brown, and sometimes burnt into a rich, deep red. A new impulse of decoration has come upon the potters. The ornaments are no longer lines and spirals, but vegetables and animals, especially of the sea kingdom, fishes, polypods, seaweeds. On the other hand, sphynxes, griffins, lotus flowers and other Oriental and Egyptian subjects, though common in non-earthen Mycenæan ornaments, are hardly ever copied by the workers in clay. The curious "false-neck" jars, which have no opening above the neck, but a spout at the side, are one of the most characteristic products of the potteries which are called Mycenæan. Other marks for fixing the relative dates of "Mycenæan" troves are stone tools and iron. If, for example, we find in one tomb obsidian spearheads and no trace of iron, and in another no stone implements, but iron rings, it is a safe inference that the first is older than the second. The occurrence of iron is a mark of comparative lateness.

The remains at Mycenæ and Tiryns are by no means the only memorials in continental Greece of the Ægean civilization. The lords of Amyclæ, which was the queen of the Laconian vale before the rise of Greek Sparta, hollowed out for themselves a tomb which, unlike the Treasury of Atreus, was never invaded by robbers. In this vault, among other costly treasures, were found the most precious of all the works of Mycenæan art that have yet been drawn forth from the earth—two golden cups on which a metal worker of matchless skill had wrought vivid scenes of the snaring and capturing of wild bulls. In Attica there are many relics. In Thessaly the only important survival of the Mycenæan age is a vaulted sepulchre near Pagasæ. In Bœotia there are more striking memorials. Crete shared in the later, as well as in the earlier stages of Ægean civilization; it, too, has its fortresses, and palaces, and beehive tombs, as well as the systems of writing which were its peculiar product. In the Cyclad Islands, off the Greek coast, remains have been found of the earlier Mycenæan epoch. In Thera a volcanic upheaval buried and preserved a settlement of which the excavated houses show us primeval stages of the culture whereof we behold the bloom in the fortresses of Argolis. At the extreme southwest of the Ægean, to wit, at Ialysus in Rhodes, there was a Mycenæan community as lately as the beginning of the fourteenth century B. C. The vases found here belong to the best kind of Mycenæan glazed ware, and the absence of earlier pottery suggests that settlers brought their civilization with them.

Of all the cities, however, which shared in the later bloom of Ægean culture, none was greater or destined to be more famous than that which arose on the southern side of the Hellespont, on that hill whereon five cities had already risen and fallen. The new Troy, through whose glory the name of the spot was to become a household word forever throughout all European lands, was built on the levelled ruins of the older towns. The circuit of the new city was far wider, and within the great wall of well-wrought stone the citadel rose, terrace upon terrace, to the highest point. On that commanding summit, as at Mycenæ, we must presume that the king's palace stood. The houses of which the foundations have been disclosed within the walls have the same simple plan that was exhibited in the older brick city, and in the palaces of Mycenæ and Tiryns. The wall was pierced by three or four gates, the chief gate being on the southeast side, guarded by a flanking tower. The builders were more skilled than the masons of the ruder walls of the fortresses of Argolis and it is a question whether we are to infer that the foundation of Troy belongs to a later age, or that from the beginning the art of building was more advanced among the Trojans. Yet, if Troy shows superior excellence in military masonry, its civilization in other directions seems to have been more primitive than that of the Argive plain. It imported, however, the glazed Mycenæan wares, and was in contact with Ægean civilization. Its position marks it out as probably an intermediary between the Ægean and the regions of the Danube, just as Crete was the intermediary between the Ægean and the regions of the Nile. But Troy stands in a measure apart from the Mycenæan world; beside it, in contact with it, yet not quite of it, the Trojan civilization seems the issue of a parallel local development, always in constant relations with the rest of the Ægean, yet pursuing its own path. Nor was this unnatural; for in speech and race the Trojan stood apart. We know with certainty who the people of Troy were; we know that they were a Phrygian folk and spoke an Aryan tongue akin to our own. The six cities of Troy perhaps correspond to successive waves of the Phrygian immigration from Southeastern Europe into Northwestern Asia Minor, an immigration which seems to have extended over the third and the early portion of the second millennium.

We observe, finally, that there were commercial dealings between this prehistoric Ægean world and Egypt on the one hand and Northern Europe on the other. Three pieces of porcelain, one inscribed with the name, the two others with the "cartouche" of Amenhotep III. of Egypt (about 1400 B. C.), and a scarab inscribed with the name of his wife, have been found in the chamber-tombs of Mycenæ. A scarab of the same Amenhotep has been discovered in the burying place of Ialysus in Rhodes. There is a still earlier testimony to intercourse with Egypt. On an inlaid dagger blade found in one of the rock-tombs on the Mycenæan citadel is represented a scene from Egyptian life, to wit, ichneumons catching ducks in a river which can only be the Nile. The workmanship is Ægean, not Egyptian; but the Ægean artist knew Egypt. We should also mention that in a painting at Egyptian Thebes men who can be recognized as of Ægean type are seen offering Mycenæan vessels to King Thothmes III. (1503-1449 B. C.); and they are described as "the kings of the country of the Keftu and the isles of the great sea." There are like reasons for believing that "Mycenæan" influences travelled northward and westward. It is certain that amber from the shores of the Baltic was imported into Mycenæ, and jars of Ægean manufacture have been found at Syracuse in tombs.

VII.

Such was the civilization already existing in the lower part of the Illyrian peninsula and in the Ægean islands at the time when these countries were invaded by the people whom we call Greeks. The invaders spoke an Aryan speech, but it does not follow that they all came of Aryan stock. There was, indeed, an Aryan element among them, but the infusion of Aryan blood was probably small, and in describing the Greeks, as well as any other of the races who spoke sister tongues, we should be careful to call them men of Aryan speech, and not men of Aryan stock. In historical Greece there were two marked types in the population, distinguished by light and dark hair, and there is no doubt that the men of light complexion came in with the invaders, though we can by no means conclude that all the Greek-speaking invaders were distinguished by the same features. The blond complexion in historical times was rarer and more prized. This is illustrated by the fact that women and fops used sometimes to dye their hair yellow or red. The relations of the invaders to the elder lords of the soil varied in various localities. In some places the Greeks became predominant in number as well as in power; in others they formed only a handful of settlers, who nevertheless Grecized the whole district. Thus, in Arcadia and in Attica, the tradition handed down to the later Greeks did not forget that there had been no serious disturbance of the population. The Arcadians, it was said, had lived in their country before the birth of the moon; the people of Attica were children of the earth. In other words, there had been no unsettling conquests in those countries. The folk who lived there before the Greeks came received Greek settlers in midst of them, learned the Greek language and gradually became Greeks themselves. In many other lands, though greater changes befell than in Attica and Arcadia, the elder inhabitants probably remained as numerous as the newcomers. There was fusion nearly everywhere, and perhaps there is barely one case, that, namely, of the Dorian conquerors of Laconia, in which we can speak of pure Greek blood.

The old home of the Greek invaders from which they gradually filtered into Greece probably lay in the northwestern regions of the Balkan peninsula. They were not a mere horde of roving shepherds; their wealth doubtless consisted in flocks and herds, but they understood tillage and were a folk of settled habits. It is, therefore, to be presumed that there was some cause other than mere restlessness for their southward migration; this cause is to be sought in the pressure of the Illyrians, their neighbors on the north, another people of Aryan speech like their own. Prof. Bury thinks we shall hardly go too far back if we place the beginnings of the migration well into the third millennium. The important thing, however, to grasp about the migration of the Greeks into Greece is that it was not a single coming, but a series of successive comings. There is every reason to believe that the process of infiltration extended over many centuries; each shock that the Greeks sustained from their northern neighbors caused a new movement southward. They did not sweep down in a great invading host; they crept in, tribe by tribe, seeking not political conquests, but new lands and homesteads. This was a long and gradual process. It needed very many years for the Greeks to blend with the older inhabitants and Hellenize the countries in which they settled. In Eastern Greece, where the Ægean civilization flourished, the influence was reciprocal. While the Greeks gradually imposed their language on the native races, they learned from them a civilization which was more advanced than their own. In our author's opinion, no reasonable system of chronology can avoid the conclusion that Greeks had already settled within the sphere of Ægean civilization when the Ægean civilization of the Bronze Age was at its height. Coming as they came, they necessarily fell under its influence in a way which could not have been the case if they had swept down in mighty hordes, conquered the land by a few swoops and destroyed or enslaved its previous inhabitants. It is another question how far the process of assimilation had already advanced when the lords of Mycenæ and other royal strongholds built their hill-tombs; it is yet another whether any of these lords belonged to the race of the Greek strangers. To these questions no positive answers can be given. This much, however, we know. In the twelfth century, if not sooner, the Greeks began to expand in a new direction eastward beyond the sea, and they bore with them to the western coast of Asia Minor the Ægean civilization. That civilization represents the environment of the heroic age of Greece.

VIII.

Now let us see what Prof. Bury has to say about the age and authorship of the Homeric poems. The civilization which the Greek settlers brought with them to the shores of Asia is revealed in their poetry, and we find that it is identical not only in its main features but in many details with the civilization that has been laid bare in the ruins of Mycenæ and other places in elder Greece. The Homeric poems show us, in fact, a later stage of the civilization of the heroic age. The Homeric palace is built on the same general plan as the palaces that have been found at Mycenæ, Tiryns and Troy. The equipment of the Homeric heroes and the man-screening Homeric shield receive their best exemplification from Mycenæan gems and jars. The scene of the beleaguered city on the unearthed silver beaker affords an admirable illustration of the siege which was represented on the shield of Achilles, and that shield postulates the art of inlaying, whereof some dagger blades discovered at Mycenæ exhibit brilliant examples. The blue inlaid frieze in the vestibule of the hall of Tiryns proves that the poet's frieze of cyanus in the hall of Alcinous was not a fancy; and he describes as the cup of Nestor a gold cup with doves perched on the handles resembling one which has been found in a royal tomb at Mycenæ. There is indeed one striking difference in respect of custom. The Mycenæan tombs reveal no trace of the habit of burning the dead, which the Homeric Greeks invariably practised; while beyond what is implied in a single mention of embalming the poems completely ignore the practice of burial. In later times both customs existed in Greece side by side. It has been supposed that in the period of migration to Asia the Achæan and Ionian settlers, not having yet won their new homesteads, and wishing to preserve the ashes of their dead instead of leaving them in a strange place, adopted the usage of cremation; and having once adopted it in an emergency, continued to practise it when the need had passed.

Our author thinks that it was perhaps in the eleventh century at Smyrna, or some other Æolian town, that the nucleus of the Iliad was composed on the basis of older lays by a poet who may be called the first Homer, though it is pronounced improbable that he was the poet who truly bore that name. He sang in the Achæan, or, as it came to be called, the Æolian tongue. His poem was the Wrath of Achilles and the Death of Hector, and it forms only the smaller part of the Iliad. It was not till the ninth century that the Iliad really came into being. Then a poet of supreme genius arose, and it may be that he was the singer whose name was actually Homer. He composed his poetry in Chios, and gives a local touch when he describes the sun as rising over the sea. From him the Homerid family of the bards of Chios were sprung. He took in hand the older poem of the Wrath of Achilles and expanded it into the shape and compass of the greater part of the Iliad. He is the poet who created one of the noblest episodes in the whole epic, Priam's ransoming of Hector's body. Tradition made Homer the author of both the great epics, the Odyssey as well as the Iliad. This Prof. Bury deems improbable. He believes that it can hardly have been before the eighth century B. C. that the old lays of the wandering of Odysseus and the slaying of Penelope's suitors were taken in hand and wrought into a large poem. Like Achilles, Odysseus was originally a god; his wife, Penelope, was a goddess; here again the legend was shaped through the influence of historical circumstances. Stories of perils and marvels in the unexplored Euxine had been wafted to the Greeks of Asia long before their own seamen ventured into those waters, and these tales have supplied the material for the old poem of the Return of Odysseus.

The conclusion reached, then, is that a poet named Homer lived at Chios in the ninth century, and was the true author of the Iliad. He did not give it the exact shape in which it was ultimately transmitted, for it received from his successors in the poetic art additions and extensions which were not entirely to its advantage. It was he, however, to all seeming, who first conceived and wrought out the idea of a mighty epic. He was an author as well as editor. He was no mere stringer together of ancient lays. He took the motives, he caught the spirit, of the older poems; he wove them into the fabric of his own composition; but he was himself as divinely inspired as any of the elder minstrels, and he was the father of epic poetry in the sense in which we distinguish an epic poem with a large argument from a short lay. His work was artificial; it was conscious Art, as the greatest poetry always is, and it is pronounced probable that he committed the Iliad to writing. As he and his successors sang in Ionia at the courts of Ionian princes, either he or his successors dealt freely with the dialect of the old Achæan, or Æolian, poems. The Iliad and Odyssey were arrayed in Ionic dress, and ultimately became so identified with Ionia that the Achæan origin of the older poems was forgotten. The transformation was not indeed perfect, for, sometimes, the Ionian forms did not suit the metre, and the Æolian forms had to remain. On the whole, however, the change was accomplished with marvellous skill, and the old Achæan bards speak to the world, and must speak forever, in the Ionian tongue, although constantly betrayed by an intractable Achæan word.

M. W. H.